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JINGOES SET BIG PUSH FOR CONSCRIPTION

Ike puts UMT first on list for new Congress

By Lawrence Emery

We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships, we've got the H-bombs too.
—Old song (adapted)

MILITARISTS and jingoes chose the week before Christmas for the start of their now-or-never drive to inflict upon the U.S. a system of universal military training, in defiance of a tradition unbroken since the birth of the nation. Although no other people in history has been more ademantly and unitedly opposed to a peacetime conscript army than Americans, the Eisenhower Administration — merging Big Brass and Big Money — last week undertook to wangle through the 84th Congress a UMT system as its first order of business.

The new plan was disclosed in Washington in a three-stage series of top-level pronouncements with the President himself as lead-off man. It was candy-coated, gift-wrapped, surrounded with specific denials that it is UMT. It even had a new name: the National Military Reserve Plan. The President justified it on the basis of a "profound" new concept of the country's offensive-defensive position in the cold war; Defense Secy. Wilson made it seem logically palatable by an attendant reduction in the size of the standing armed forces.

IT'S "VOLUNTARY": But the core of compulsory conscription was there: upon reaching age 17, all fit U.S. males would have one of four "voluntary" choices:

- 1. They could wait for possible drafting, which would mean two years of active service followed by six years in a "serviceable callable" reserve, first to be tapped in a full-scale mobilization.
- 2. They could volunteer for one of the four services (three years in the Army or Marines, four years in the Navy or Air Force); thereafter they would belong for two years in the "serviceable callable" reserve and another two years in the "selectively callable" reserve, subject to a secondary phase of mobilization.
- 3. They could enter a reserve unit directly on the understanding that before they reached 19 they would be called to active duty for two years with a total military obligation (active and reserve) of eight years.
- 4. They could volunteer for six months' training, thereafter to remain in the reserves for 9½ years. Those choosing the six-month plan would receive $30 a month, would get no GI benefits, and if they failed to keep up their 9½-year reserve training would be subject to the draft for a full two years of active service.

Secretary Wilson, who announced the plan Dec. 17, figured it would produce a trained reserve of 5,000,000 men by 1959 at an estimated cost of something over $1 billion a year.

BATTLEWAGONS & MEN: Three days after he produced this plan, Wilson revealed a "new new look" at the armed forces based upon the new Eisenhower doctrine that in the nuclear-bomb age U.S. power of defense is almost co-equal in importance with its offensive might. Belief in U.S. superiority in A- and H-bomb production permits primary dependence upon these weapons in the hands of the Air Force strategic Air Command and the Navy's new super-carriers, roving A-bomb air bases. The first of these is soon to be commissioned, work has begun on a second and third, a contract for a fourth is soon to be awarded, and Congress is to be asked to authorize a fifth.

This major reliance hence permits a reduction in the standing armed forces,

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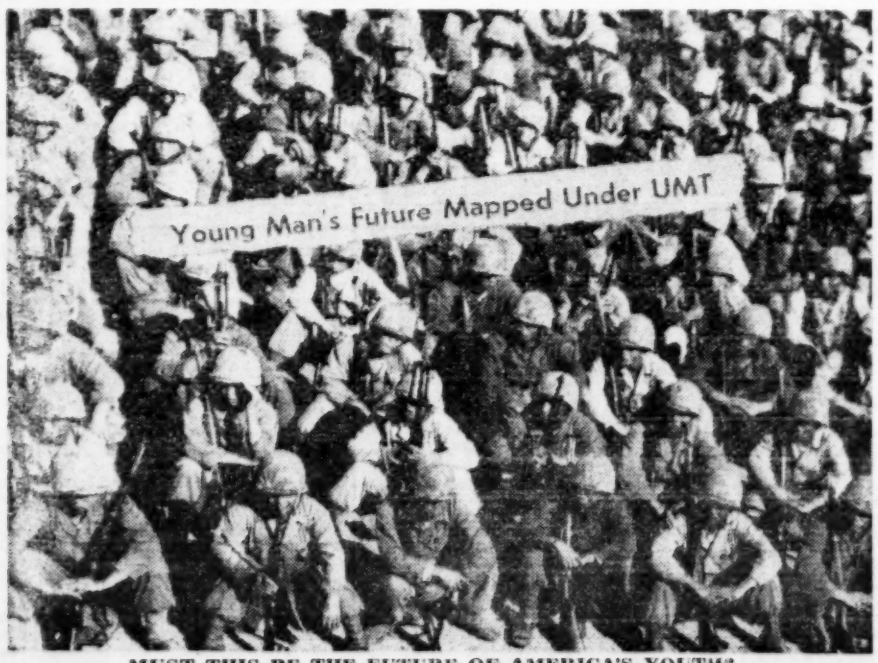

MUST THIS BE THE FUTURE OF AMERICA'S YOUTH?
Above, S. Korean youngsters trained by U.S. Marines

Madonna and Child — Korea, 1954-5
Peace on earth — this year, next year, sometime . . .?

KENTUCKY SEDITION FRAMEUP

Braden awaits sentence, but nobody can tell what crime he committed

IN Louisville, Ky., last week newspaperman Carl Braden was in jail waiting for sentence to be passed on him. He had been found "guilty" in Criminal Court Dec. 13 after a trial which I. F. Stone in his **Weekly** (12/20) termed "a nightmare . . . [that] has the flavor of 19th Century labor frame-ups . . . as palpable a fake as anything in the annals of American radical prosecutions." Neither Braden nor trained legal observers knew what he had been found guilty of.

Attorney Louis Lusky of the American Civil Liberties Union, which will file briefs on questions involving civil liberties issues when the case is appealed, said that since the indictment charged Braden "with several different offenses, we are in doubt as to which of the offenses he was found to have committed." Other questions he raised were whether the 20-year-old Palmer Raids law under which the conviction was obtained is constitutional, and whether the indictment informed Braden on the charges "with sufficient precision to enable him to prepare his defense."

HE HAD BOOKS: Besides the general statement that Braden had organized or voluntarily assembled with persons who "taught, advocated or suggested . . . criminal syndicalism or sedition," the indictment on which the jury ruled stated that Braden

". . . had in his possession for the purpose of publication or circulation . . . written or printed matter . . . advocating, suggesting or teaching criminal syndicalism."

No overt acts were cited or entered into the trial, with the exception of material offered by the FBI's plant Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, which Braden flatly denied. In reply to her testimony that he gave her such literature, he said she "was constantly asking for books" on Marx and communism at a union hall library and that she came to his house as often as two or three days a week asking for books. Possessing a large library for his own use, he lent her some things, but stopped when she failed to return them. The judge ordered both sides to stipulate that "as far as . . . [Mrs Ahearn] knows, there is no reference to violent overthrow of the U.S. and Kentucky governments in the books."

In his summation defense lawyer Robert Zollinger said: "The U.S. Government actually helps distribute this material [taken from Braden's home and entered into evidence], but when it gets into the hands of Mr. Braden, they say it is bad." He pointed out that Mrs. Ahearn had, on her word alone, increased her earnings from the FBI from $15 a week in 1948 to $125 a month.

RUSSIA, KOREA, ETC.: In a summation resembling the hysterical tone of Judge Irving R. Kaufman's linking of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg with the Korean war, Kentucky's prosecuting attorney A. Scott Hamilton linked

(Continued on Page 3)

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The Louisville story

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This seems the ideal opportunity to toss you a garland or two for the general high quality of your (I should say our) paper during the last year. It keeps getting better all the time.

I particularly want to thank you for the excellent coverage of the Louisville auto-da-fe. The requests for letters to the governor, etc., are all well and good, but are you asking enough of your readers? It has already been demonstrated in Louisville that this fight, a desperately important one, is one that a great number of people, not necessarily of our political conscience, will act upon. Aren't we missing the boat? Why not call for the formation of a defense committee of national scope? Such an action can turn the defense of these and other victims of American fascism into an offensive.

Funds for the appeal are desperately needed, the legal fees alone coming to $1,000 per person plus transcript costs, etc. And now that the kangaroo court has already dutifully recited its first conviction the appeal costs are going to begin to sky-rocket. There are such things as food and clothes and rent for the unemployed defendants. A. G.

Senator Humbug

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

It was good to see the Frank Serri article (GUARDIAN, 12/6) exposing the role of Sen. Humbug Humphrey. The GUARDIAN performs a real service in peeling off the glittering skin to expose the rotten core of this young demagogue from Minnesota.

As I see it, there is absolutely no difference between Humphrey and McCarthy. Humphrey is less boorish and more dexterous . . . and therefore more dangerous, if anything. Yet, a lot of my progressive friends voted for Humphrey here in the last election—when they should have been out exposing his humbuggery. No wonder the progressive movement can't become effective as long as it seems to lack the will to take a principled position against the Senator who sponsored a bill to outlaw the Communist Party and who co-sponsored the concentration camp bill in 1950. Tom Paine Jr.

How crazy can you get dept.

The release of the 11 U.S. soldiers being held by the Chinese reds could be obtained within 24 hours through the following simple procedure:

Let several hundred federal bureau of investigation men surround the Russian embassy in Washington, break down the doors in the middle of the night, and yank out 11 attaches in their pajamas, hurry them to a waiting fast plane, and rush them to Alcatraz prison. Then telegraph Malenkov: "Your agents will be released just as soon as your Chinese pals return our boys in uniform."

—Reader's letter in Spokane (Wash.) **Spokesman-Review**, Dec. 16.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Lillian Keevy, Spokane.

They liked it

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We, in the Greenwich Village Club of the American Labor Party, want to convey our appreciation for the Dec. 13 issue of the GUARDIAN. The articles on the dangers of rearmament of Germany, the crisis in the Eisenhower administration, and on the state of civil liberties in our land, were particularly good. Our ALP program on peace, civil rights, and against discrimination will be effectively furthered by these articles.

The excellent column by Arthur Schutzer in the same issue, on the "Guide to the New Session of the New York Legislature," deserves special commendation. May we suggest a similar column on the 1955 Washington scene?

Executive Committee
Greenwich Village ALP

Seeds of a riot

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Cedric Belfrage's **Seeds of Destruction** is very grippingly written and beautifully presents the problem of Germany, and of Americans who acquiesce to fascism, without laying it on with a shovel. As the binding made it hard to knit and read at one time, I read it on streetcars where they have a law against knitting anyway. I was nearly in the center of a riot because I was reading a foreign book with a swastika on the cover. I looked absent-mindedly at the hostile faces, without the cause sinking in. Finally a woman said: "Excuse me, but people are getting excited, they say you are reading a Nazi book." "No, it's anti-Nazi—see, this word means 'truth.'" "Ah-ha, that's what I told them!"

The line about those who licensed journalists in Germany thinking subconsciously, on returning to the U.S., that a Karl von Wiegand should "have his license revoked" puts in capsule form the argument for control of a press to make it more democratic.

Eleanor Wheeler

Tell 'em about us

MADRID, IA.

Please accept the enclosed $10 as a contribution to keep a good publication going. Looks as though the people of this nation need it but few know of it and too many are afraid of it.

The Bill of Rights Fund (GUARDIAN, 11/8) is the best piece of news that I have seen. I hope it will make a mark on the history of this nation. Russell Carlson

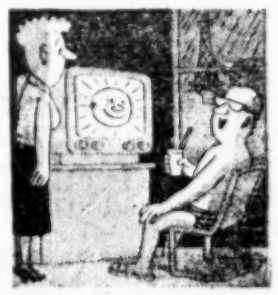
The drought and the $

IMBODEN, ARK.

I'm sorry I have gotten so far behind. I am a farmer and raise beef cattle on a small scale, so, with three droughts in succession, and the drop in cattle prices, it has been rather rough sledding.

I am enclosing $1 and I'll do my best to send you $1 per month.

We are not getting any drought relief this year, although some of my neighbors who live two or three miles away in an adjoining county are getting it. They have had as much or more rain than we have had, and many of them are in far better financial condition than I. This is what I call Republican statesmanship. W. A. Greene



Carrefour, Paris

"They're televising winter sunshine from the south. . . ."

See?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The response to the ad in the paper has been most gratifying. So, before my ad expires (sometime in January), I am enclosing a check for $104 for one year's advertising.

Aaron Schneiderman
Aaron's TV Service

A nation's conscience

WASHINGTON, KANS.

This area has recently been the scene of the maneuvers of army jet planes. On a recent beautiful cloudless autumn day there was unusual activity. The jets were flying at an altitude so great that no audible sound reached the earth—spread their vapor trails in huge streaks, curves and circles, producing a man-made phenomenon which no generation of human beings ever before witnessed. The pale crescent of a shrinking moon gave a touch of the natural to the weird scene. The maneuvers continued all during the day. As the sun sank in the west its rays gave a different lighting effect to the vapor trails, giving them some color and at times a silver lining. At one time the sun was completely encircled in a gigantic silver halo.

I wondered what was the reaction of others to this display. There were the youngsters who looked longingly upward, wishing they might be there to enact the horror stories they had seen in the Sunday funnies or Saturday's TV show. There were those who rejoiced in the display of "strength" that challenged any and all comers. Others, I presume, who had a feeling of greater security. Many who were indifferent.

Did any give a thought to the awful and soul-chilling reasons why these super machines had been designed and built and to the horrible implications of their feverish activity? Can the conscience of a nation be so subjugated to the false and tyrannical philosophy of "Peace Through Strength" that it no longer speaks? Ernest B. Benne

Three 19-year-olds

SPENCER, N. Y.

The ways of "justice" are a little hard for an ordinary person to understand. In Ithaca 19-year-old Michael Tschornyl, a displaced person from the Ukraine, stole sums amounting to $1,870 from Cornell University, while employed there as a janitor. When up for trial, County Judge Stagg recommended that this character should not be deported as an undesirable alien and sent petitions to that effect to Atty. Gen. Brownell, the Justice Dept. and State Atty. Gen. Goldstein. This youthful criminal has a 1-A selective service classification, presumably soon will be inducted and therefore free to steal from the men in the armed services.

In Niles, Ohio, is Leon Callow, the father of nine American-born children, a U.S. resident for 38 years, who has a 19-year-old son in the Army, faces deportation to Greece and perhaps certain death. He did not steal from his benefactors, he merely engaged in political activity.

I have taken a particular interest in these cases, for until today my son, too, was 19 and is a private in the U.S. Army. Personally I see no justice in the fact that he and Pvt. Carl Callow have to make this country safe for the likes of Michael Tschornyl. (Mrs.) Lila K. Larson

Meaty and correct

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Congratulations on Ione Kramer's excellent article on Sedition (Dec. 20): It is superior, meaty and correct in all its implications.

Allan D. McNeil, Secy.
Comm. to End Sedition Laws

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REPORT TO READERS

'Dear Guardian Associates . . .'

"THE NEWS on the outcome of the Belfrage hearing finally moved me! Funny—or isn't it?—that I should wince at that, after so blithely putting aside always until tomorrow your eloquent and moving appeals.

"How much it seems to take to move a lot of us, even while lolling in an armchair, reading from cover to cover in the GUARDIAN how the nobler but pitifully small lot of us acts to prevent that ignoble (but also small though powerful) lot of us from dragging all of us down to a level lower than that of the beast!

"All the while the great majority of us looks supinely on, with but a mere twinge way down on the subconscious level that we too should be out there helping in some way.

"To back up my confession, here's a meager five bucks. Take one as the first payment on my 1955 Buck-a-Month pledge. Send a gift sub to the enclosed addressee. Send me a copy of Belfrage's **Seeds of Destruction.** Put the rest in the kitty."

THE ABOVE came from Springfield, Mass., in response to our annual mailing to subscribers. And if we may return the compliment, our recollection is that this is not the first time our Springfield friend has been moved by our "eloquent and moving appeals." It's a safe bet that in the same holiday mood, the same foregoing citizen of Springfield is sending off a seasonal mite to the Smith Act families, the Wade Case defense in Louisville, Ky., the embattled Miami (Fla.) "immunity" victims; the Sobell campaign and who can surmise what other needful causes among the politically beset in our land. It is the GUARDIAN's function to report all these matters, to seek support for them—and to survive and grow in the process so as to increase such support and activity to decisive proportions.

WARMING THOUGH IT IS to get a letter like the one above (and don't get the idea it's the only one of its kind: we have had a couple of thousand responses to our annual letter, and almost none in dissent against any of our campaigns), it is an abiding concern to us that we are never able to jog more than ten percent of our readers at any one time into sitting down and replying to a letter, even when we pay the return postage.

As we end '54 with this issue of the GUARDIAN, this is still our knottiest problem. May we hear from YOU, to start the New Year right? How about making tomorrow the day YOU stop blithely putting it aside?

—THE EDITORS

Formosa today: Big grab-bag for U.S. military and big business

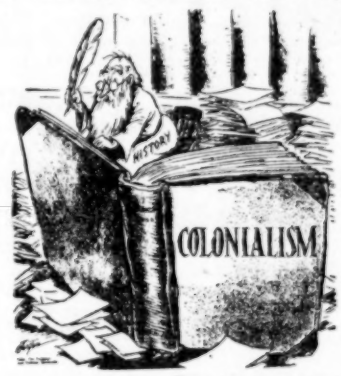
The following was excerpted from a dispatch from Formosa to the Paris Tribune des Nations *(12/3):*

THE ARRIVAL in Formosa of American officers freshly transferred from the Atlantic command illustrates the policy that is ascribed here to the government in Washington: more than ever, Asia first.

It is no longer a secret for anyone that the recent sessions of the U.S. Natl. Security Council were devoted almost entirely to the problem of using the Chinese Nationalists and their island in the world struggle against communism. "Western Enterprises, Inc.," that strange commercial house which serves as such a transparent cover for the agents of the special services, has been placed on a war footing. Officially the 7th Fleet still comprises 125 torpedo-boats, 20 cruisers, 55 submarines and 15 transport ships of various types. To re-enforce these, early arrival is expected of the 45,000-ton aircraft-carrier Midway and 16 torpedo boats, units now part of the Atlantic forces.

All the military resources of the Nationalists are now mobilized and held well in hand by the U.S. Commission. In fact, the soldiers of Chiang Kai-shek have become, at least technically, mercenaries of the U.S.

THE CARPET-BAGGERS: The situation is less simple in the political domain. Chiang and his dozen politicians who form the ruling group of Chinese Nationalism are exposed to various and contradictory solicitations on the part of their American advisers. The fact is that in Formosa the U.S. representatives are at the same time diplomats and



Des Moines Register

"Now on the last chapter?"

commercial travelers, sometimes exclusively preoccupied with their personal enterprises. In addition, the political line defined with so much trouble and after so many palavers by the Natl. Security Council has difficulty in taking a concrete form.

Formosa is less occupied by the American forces than by multiple missions, one representing Defense Secy. Wilson and General Motors, another Gen. Eisenhower and the manufacturers of electrical appliances, a third Adm. Radford, and yet another the air transport companies, etc. All these missions have only language in common. Their interests diverge to such a point that no measure is taken without dozens of private cables—transmitted over the official channels—being sent to the U.S. to advise the chiefs of the "lobbies" and ask them either to support it or make preparations to bury it.

ENTER JOHN BULL: The real political activity of the Chiang government is thus concentrated in Washington, where the famous "China Lobby" is a monster with 100 heads which devours itself.

In any case the growing tension between Formosa and the mainland offers to the professional militarists—a minority in the U.S. Army personnel in Formosa—the chance to establish a little order. The preparation of military operations against the mainland is apparently conducted with a method and discipline which contrast with the political mess.

But up to now the permanent provocation has not paid off very well. The main enemy that is being encountered by the American patrols is the Royal Navy, whose ships phlegmatically convoy the cargoes being shuttled between Hong Kong and the Communist ports.

Military training

(Continued from Page 1)

which Wilson announced Dec. 20 with a total cut from the current 3,218,000 men to 2,815,000 by mid-1956, and with draft calls—now running about 23,000 a month—cut in half beginning in February. But this reduction is pegged upon enactment of the reserve training plan, and is calculated to sell it to the

American people. The N.Y. **Times** reported on Dec. 18:

> "Administrative officials believe . . . that most of the objections raised in the past [against UMT] have been met in the proposed plan. They believe that the vulnerability of the U.S. to atomic attack, stressed by President Eisenhower, will at last convince Congress and the public that it is now or never for a system that would require virtually every youth, 17 years of age and up, to be trained in arms."

"MUST BE REALISTIC": The Washington **Post** on Dec. 19 was even more explicit:

> "Enactment of some such program [reserve training] will become more important if projected cuts in armed forces personnel should take effect. Apparently the objective is not to reduce defense spending below its current level, but to place more emphasis on continental defense and the strategic deterrent. With or without the reductions, a strong reserve program merits united support."

The danger that peace-time conscription will now at long last be fastened upon the U.S. is acute. Even Rep. Dewey Short (R-Mo.), who in the past has led successful Congressional fights against it, is now quoted:

> "I'm open-minded about it, although I have deep-rooted convictions against permanent peace-time conscription or UMT. However, you have to be realistic. We have got to build up our reserves. We can't maintain forever large standing forces."

THE BIG PUSH: With the opening of Congress the big history-reversing push will be on, led by the American Legion which has campaigned for UMT unsuccessfully since 1920. At its convention in Washington last September Eisenhower himself joined the fight; charging that the U.S. has "failed miserably" to maintain a strong and ready reserve, he said:

> "Establishment of an adequate reserve—an objective for which the American Legion and other patriotic organizations have vainly fought for a generation—will be a number one item submitted to the Congress next year. . . . Wishful thinking and political timidity must no longer bar a program so absolutely essential to our defense."

Congressional Quarterly reported recently:

> "Led by the Legion, UMT advocates are launching what one official terms 'the biggest educational-lobbying campaign' yet undertaken in this field. . . . Most groups are alerting field organizations to contact their Congressmen between Thanksgiving and Christmas and stress the need for UMT legislation. A large-scale letter-writing campaign will be started by the Legion early in 1955."

THE BIG YEAR: Thus 1955 becomes the crucial year in the fight against total militarization of the U.S. Most organizations that have traditionally led the fight against conscription—labor, church, farm, educational and other powerful groups—have in recent months reaffirmed their old stand. Typical example is the Washington Newsletter of the Friends Committee (Quakers) on National Legislation, which devoted its December issue to this fight:

> "National armed force gives not security, but a gambler's hope of victory. In a hydrogen era, however, no victory is possible. Security requires more; it requires the prevention of war. War cannot be prevented by armed force. . . ."

After 178 years as a nation, this fight now approaches the showdown stage. Whether it will be won again depends now upon how quickly and how effectively opponents of conscription can mobilize and make their strength felt.

Let Congress know

ON NOV. 22, the 50 bishops comprising the Council of Bishops representing 9 million members of the Methodist church, declared in executive session:

> "Militarism as a way of life is a foe of democracy and our forefathers fled to these shores to escape it. We call upon our people to prevent any attempt to fasten peacetime conscription on the American people."

The GUARDIAN heartily subscribes. We urge you to write or visit your congressman immediately to let him know you don't want UMT.

The Nazis return

The editors of **Jewish Life** have published a forceful and comprehensive Fact Sheet on West German Rearmament for which they have already received orders for 40,000. It documents the return of the Nazis in government, industry and the army and details world-wide opposition to a rearmed Germany. It is on letter-size paper and a handy guide for any argument. Copies are available at 5c each (100 for $2) from **Jewish Life**, 22 E. 17th St., Rm 601, N. Y. 3, N.Y.

SCHOOL SITUATION

Good faith asked on desegregation

OLIVER HILL, atty. for the Virginia State Conf. of NAACP branches, assured the Governor's legislative commission that Negro citizens would cooperate in good faith in a program of school desegregation if white citizens approached the question also in good faith. Challenging the objection that the Supreme Court ruling interferes with "the states' rights," Hill said that under the U.S. Constitution "the states lack power to make arbitrary groupings of citizens, and the Supreme Court decision of May 17 merely so states." He then named these five specific propositions to illustrate need for immediate abolition of jimcrow schools:

- The jimcrow school "not only limits the education of Negroes during youth; it perpetuates a system which deprives them of economic, political and social opportunities as adults";
- It "deprives the white youth of valuable educational opportunities . . . of immense value in developing the emotional maturity necessary for successfully coping with the problems which will confront them as adults."
- Race prejudice felt by "a large segment of the white population . . . is an acquired characteristic that can be cured through changes in community patterns."
- The jimcrow school "retards the educational, economic, political and cultural development of from 10 to 60% of the population of the various local communities, [which, in turn] lose the benefit of valuable minds and talents, either because they are not developed or are just unknown."
- "Negroes living in the year 1954 are just as imbued with the philosophy and heritage of the American concept of individual liberty as any other . . . and are just as determined to attain it for themselves and their posterity."

CALIFORNIA

IPP alerts voters to election in L.A.

WITH a first filing date of Jan. 5 for all potential candidates for Los Angeles City Council and Board of Education, the L.A. County Independent Progressive Party has called for a "united campaign, bringing together all liberal elements" to defeat reactionary incumbents it claims are under "tight control" of the "Republican-Los Angeles **Times** machine." Primary elections for both bodies will be held April 5, with general elections May 31. There will be municipal elections Feb. through June in ten other municipalities in L.A. County, in addition to special elections for three county agencies.

Seventy City Council incumbents up for election for new four-year terms represent, according to IPP, the "worst reactionary forces on the present Council," having killed low-cost public housing, raised sales taxes, blocked FEPC, denied increases to city employes and engineered a local "give-away" program, in addition to dodging issues such as police brutality and smog.

With only one occasional dissent, the present seven-man Board of Education has instituted school witch-hunts, banned a UNESCO program from L.A. schools, screened libraries for "subversive" books and publications, banning both the **Nation** and **New Republic**; curtailed human and race relations programs; and refused school salary increases and elimination of fire hazards in many schools. Four seats on the board will be filled in 1955, enough to change its character if liberal candidates can be elected. A Save-Our-Schools Committee attempt to replace three of the present members in 1953 failed by wide margins, but did well enough to indicate that concerted effort might unseat one or more reactionary members in the 1955 elections.

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

What Belfrage did in Germany to make him a target for McCarthy

"Literally, devastatingly disproves the conspiracy to send the author 'back where he came from' on the ground that he is a savage bolshevist bent on destroying America."—GEORGE SHOAF.

Order TODAY from National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.—$1.50 ppd.

CAN THE BOMB SAVE "FREE ENTERPRISE"?

The meaning of Eisenhower's '50 years of cold war'

By Tabitha Petran

AT HIS press conference on Dec. 15 the President, projecting 50 years of "cold war," outlined a long-range military spending and manpower program—"that iron that goes with the velvet glove" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 12/19). Its components are annual military spending of $40 to $45 billion (roughly 30 times pre-war), continued heavy taxes (up 25% on personal income since 1939), universal military training, and increasing emphasis on atomic-hydrogen "massive retaliation" strategy. Such has been the nation's political, economic and moral transformation in 15 years of war and war preparations.

The **Wall St. Journal** (12/17) called the program "revolutionary" in that "we will no longer assume that because there is no war there is no peace," and saw in "the constant maintenance of a powerful force . . . a modern as well as a mature policy." Four years ago the same **WSJ** (10/31/50) termed Washington's arms race "the least imaginative and historically the least rewarding application of diplomacy . . . an excuse for the lack of policy . . . [revealing] how impoverished one's statesmanship is." Today, in a world where co-existence has become a "must," proponents of permanent militarization—up to and including the President—put it forward as necessary to save "free enterprise" from the forces of social change.

LET'S BLITZ: NATO's Council meeting in Paris to decide who is to have "the atom-throwing authority" (N.Y. **Daily News,** 12/16) showed the road down which this program inevitably is leading. Washington's NATO partners, fearful of involvement in atomic war by unilateral U.S. decision, have been demanding machinery for consultation before atomic weapons are used. But, as the **Christian Science Monitor** pointed out (12/16), this question "is already obsolete." NATO has little if anything to say about strategic use of A- and H-bombs. This is "an American monopoly on the Western side and foreign governments have no direct control over the policies of the U.S. Air Force" (**CSM,** 12/13)—although the Air Force striking bases are located in NATO countries. After the U.S. told them they had no choice, NATO allies agreed that tactical use of A-weapons is "indispensable."

"You must dump everything you can on him [the enemy] before he unloads on you" is the way one U.S. officer summed up the "new look" prescribed for NATO by the U.S. military. **CSM** (12/15) explained that in Washington's view "the tremendous destructive power of atomic weapons, instead of causing them to be used sparingly and slowly, demands their immediate and massive use as the sole key to avoiding defeat in any future war." NATO is therefore being geared to a war which Washington sees as "an atomic britzkreig with the decision coming in the first two or three weeks."

The NATO meeting—with its revelation that U.S. forces in Europe are already equipped with atomic weapons, and its focus on the extent of U.S. commitment to atomic war—came on the eve of French and W. German parliamentary debate on ratification of W. German rearmament. It made unmistakably plain that a rearmed W. Germany—led by earlier blitzkreig enthusiasts—will command mass-destruction weapons.

LET'S STOP: Yet even plainer was the lack of any popular support for the U.S. and NATO military programs, including W. German rearmament. This was reflected in this year's cut in military conscription terms in Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands, and the reduction of scheduled military effort in Norway and Greece, while the number of U.S. air squadrons flying in W. Europe rose from 138 to 148 and the atomic arsenal available there has grown (N.Y. **Times,** 12/19). Hanson Baldwin (**NYT,** 12/19) said W. Europe "has never been politically, psychologically or economically willing to produce the divisions" and the planners have therefore "turned to atomic weapons." But this decision, provoking mounting fear of atomic destruction, has produced an even stronger grass-roots opposition than to conventional militarization.

Results of a recent nationwide poll in Belgium (**CSM,** 12/11) may well be typical for the Western world. They showed the population "overwhelmingly opposed" both to further manufacture and tests of A- and H-bombs: more than 80% want production of the bombs stopped; 90% want their use in war prevented; almost 75% want tests ended; "a vast percentage" agreed:

> "American experiments should be made over American territory and in no case expose the inhabitants of other countries to unknown dangers."

"HATRED FOR WAR": How overwhelmingly W. Europeans oppose W. German rearmament,' the U.S. press can no longer entirely conceal. In W. Germany, although the Paris accords will probably be ratified because there doesn't "seem to be anything else to do in the circumstances . . . the pro-reunification, anti-militarist line-up as opposed to the rearmament line-up, is winning new adherents daily" (M. S. Handler, **NYT,** 12/20). Among the former are the Social Democrats, second largest party; the six-million-member trade union movement; the university and technical college students; a "great number" of Protestant pastors; "some" Catholic priests; a "high proportion" of teachers, and "above all the women folk" and the youth who have "a genuine hatred for war and a contempt for the military."

In France, a proposed "association" of French and W. German munitions cartels, brought forward after EDC's defeat, has undercut some big-business opposition to W. German rearmament. But popular protest, as strong as ever, is being registered in petitions, meetings, delegations to ministers and deputies. Premier Mendes-France's intensified efforts to convince the public that talks with Moscow will be possible after ratification reflect the breadth of demand for such talks. But experienced Western observers in Moscow believe the U.S.S.R. was not bluffing when it told the Western powers there would be nothing substantive left to talk about if W. German rearmament is ratified, and that ratification would nullify the Franco-Soviet and Anglo-Soviet alliances.

THE WORD TO THE PEOPLE: The Soviet campaign against W. German rearmament is directed over the heads of governments to the peoples of W. Europe. The French know that abrogation of the Soviet alliance will take them another long step toward complete satellite status to Washington. W. Germans take seriously Soviet warnings that there will be no reunification if W. Germany is rearmed. Moscow's note to Britain, declaring that U.S. Gen. Stevenson's remarks there about his bombers "dealing an atomic blow to the U.S.S.R." are "incompatible" with the Anglo-Soviet alliance, raises sharply before the British people the danger of U.S. bomber bases on their soil.

Washington's attempt to impose on Europe a policy its people so strongly oppose cannot lead to stabilization. As Handler wrote of W. Germany: "The political situation . . . is becoming fluid and nobody can foretell in which direction it will lead." In recent years Washington's biggest policy crises have centered in the Far East where the sands of Western policy have been running out. By insisting upon W. German rearmament it is opening an era of crises in Europe, where the danger of explosion into war is greater.

HOPE IN PEKING: In Asia, Washington's policy has failed, and it has recognized for the time being that it cannot "restore the balance" by war. Yet "no decision at all has been taken about what the government does want to do" in Asia (Stewart Alsop, 12/19). Its reckless improvisations—for example, the UN action it demanded on the 11 airmen sentenced by China as spies—could backfire. For the fact is that Peking, barred from UN at Washington's demand, is now to be host to UN Secy.-General Hammarskjold. At UN, even among U.S. allies, there is hope—slender as it is—that the Peking meeting might lead to easing of U.S.-China relations and China's admission to UN membership.

The two major questions debated in the Assembly's closing weeks—U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek aggression against China and its trade—showed how urgent a Far Eastern settlement has become. Although the vote was against any UN action to halt this aggression, the documentation of it was never refuted and underscored the fact that no great power can tolerate such attacks on its territory, sovereignty and shipping.

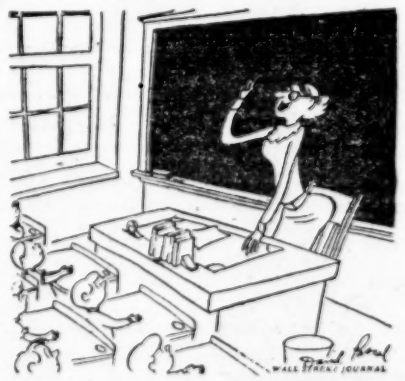
Eight years ago U.S. scientist Harold Urey derided the notion of using the A-bomb to "maintain peace," and said it would be used "only by those who believe that the proper way of settling international difficulties is by resort to war." The A-bomb, he added, is "useless as a police weapon" since a weapon to be effective "for the preservation of order" must be one "which mankind is willing to use for that purpose."

Washington has based its policy on using the A-bomb to preserve "free enterprise" throughout the world, but events have shown mankind increasingly unwilling to permit its use. And as London's **New Statesman** pointed out (12/18):

> ". . . The net effect of the arms race initiated by all the NATO Powers in 1950 has been to shift the balance of military power decisively in favor of the U.S.S.R. . . . As long as [it] proceeds, the balance is likely to shift further and further in [its] . . . favor. . . . The time for negotiations on the terms of co-existence has now arrived . . . not because . . . we have become so strong, but because of the rapidity with which our position vis-a-vis the Russians is being weakened."

SEE WHAT THE BRASS IN THE BACK ROOM WILL HAVE
A collection of NATO military hats outside a Paris conference room

Jean Effel in Eulenspiegel, Berlin
Little French Ridinghood.



Wall Street Journal
"If I had three hydrogen bombs, and gave two hydrogen bombs away, how many would I have left?"

The gateway to the South

UNDAUNTED by the bombing of a Negro's home and the trial of white citizens for helping him obtain it, the Louisville Negro Labor Council is launching a strong campaign against jimcrow in the job field. The goal: more jobs for Negroes in industries which have "run away" to Louisville, the "gateway city," and in southern railroads. Some places where NLC is encouraging Negro workers to apply:

General Electric, with 5,000 employes (50% women) in its Louisville plant. GE has upgraded only a few Negroes to production jobs, keeps its ten Negro women employes in maid and janitor work. NLC's demand that GE hire no fewer Negroes than the 17% proportion in Louisville's population was backed by seven church and civic groups when GE first came to Louisville.

Ford: With six Negroes (all janitors) among its 2,000 workers, its Louisville plant policy is to hire no Negroes. Its new plant will employ 5,000 workers.

Louisville & Nashville RR: Its main yards and shops in Louisville employ Negroes "in menial capacity, exclude them from the operating, clerical, maintenance, and most service classifications."

Says the Natl. Negro Labor Conference: "The Ford Motor Co. runs big ads in Negro newspapers and magazines assuring the prospective Negro automobile buyer that 'There is a Ford in your future.' Unless present policies change drastically, there is certainly no 'Ford job' in the future of the Negro unemployed in Louisville. . . . Industry glorifies the American woman . . . in her gleaming GE kitchen. . . . Nothing is too good for her. . . . This means Negro women too — unless she wants a job at GE in the South. We appeal to the $30 billion Negro market to put pressure on Ford and GE."

Kentucky sedition

(Continued from Page 1)

Braden and "communism . . . marching . . . here in Jefferson County" to Louisville's civilian defense shelters, attack from Soviet Russia, and children who carried rifles in Korea.

Braden was being held without bond until the judge's decision on a new trial. The jury recommended penalties of 15 years in jail and a $5,000 fine. Also still in jail are 79-year-old retired riverboat captain I. O. Ford and his roommate, truckdriver Vernon Bown, both unable to raise $10,000 bail.

Ford, Bown, Braden and his wife Anne, and four other were indicted in October on similar charges after Braden's real "crime"—helping a Negro family buy a house in an all-white area. When the house was dynamited following a KKK-type cross-burning, the investigation of it turned into a witch-hunt, resulting in the indictments. The state has announced that Bown, who was also indicted separately for causing the explosion (though he was in Milwaukee at the time), will be tried on that charge next, with Feb. 7 set as a tentative date.

Letters were urged to Kentucky Gov. Lawrence Wetherby, Frankfort, and Sen. Alban Barkley, Washington, D. C., protesting the frame-up and urging them to force Louisville law enforcement officials to find the real bombers.

Sentiment

OF A CHRISTMAS legend "colored with fantasy," Rev. Dr. Robert J. McCracken in Riverside Church, N. Y., sermonized (N. Y. **Times,** 12/20):

". . . The Nativity is set in a spotlessly clean stable with a cozy crib, among mild-eyed cattle lying in sweet straw, and the whole scene is bathed in the splendor of heavenly light. . . ."

"Describing the 'grim facts of the case,' Dr. McCracken said that Mary and Joseph were 'two humble peasants making their weary way to Bethlehem who couldn't find accommodations except in a dark, dirty, uninviting stable.

"'Don't let us be sentimental about Christmas,' he said."

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FROM Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee Bulletin, Dec., 1954:

"One hundred nineteen men and women—migratory workers—are now 'at home' under the overpass near Winter Haven, Fla. One of the 'tenants,' an Alabama worker lured to Florida by operator propaganda, has no job and his wife is expecting a baby. Florida relief refused, but our union members dug into their meager funds, bought some groceries and hired a doctor. Now raising hell to get her into a hospital. . . ."

Contributions may be sent to the Florida workers via Harry Koger, 1715 Telephone Rd., Houston, Tex.

Linus Pauling (left) greets members of the Swedish Peace Committee

At the official Nobel Feast in the Stockholm City Hall, Dec. 10, 1954, Dr. Linus Pauling, professor at the California Institute of Technology, and winner of the Nobel Prize for Chemistry, delivered the traditional "Speech to the Students." This is what he said:

I HAVE observed that students, young people are much the same all over the world—and that scientists are the same. There is a world wide brotherhood of youth and of science.

Perhaps, as one of the older generation, I should preach a little sermon to you—but I do not propose to do so. I shall, instead, give you a word of advice about how to behave toward your elders.

When an old and distinguished person speaks to you, listen to him carefully and with respect—**but do not believe him. Never put your trust in anything but your own intellect. Your elder,** no matter whether he has gray hair or has lost his hair, no matter whether he is a Nobel Laureate, **may be wrong.** The world progresses year by year, century by century, as the members of the younger generation find out what was wrong among the things that their elders said. So you must always be skeptical —**always think for yourself.**

You will have some great problems to solve—the greatest of all is the problem of war and peace. I believe that this problem has been solved by the hydrogen bomb—that there will never again be a world war. The knowledge that a world war would mean worldwide destruction, perhaps the end of civilization, will surely now lead to permanent peace. But it is your generation that will have the job of working out the means of preventing disaster, by improving the techniques of international negotiations, of developing safeguards against paranoiac demagogues who might make nations rabid; you will have this great job to do—and I am confident that you can do it.

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"SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION," a new book by **CEDRIC BELFRAGE.** The inside story behind Sen. McCarthy's determination to deport GUARDIAN's Editor, a "man who knows too much." Belfrage Fight-Back Fund, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Price: $1.50 per copy. All proceeds to Fight-Back Fund.

That peaceful feeling

CLEVELAND, O.

Just a note to tell you how thrilled we were with the Buying Service tablecloth. And there are no words to describe how we feel about the Christmas cards. They are as near to a peaceful feeling that we can get with the world in this warlike state. J. Hratko

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THE 1930'S: THE "CONSPIRACY" TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

Cedric Belfrage writes: "Why they want to deport me"

By Cedric Belfrage

I AM NOT—though I'll take the Fifth on whether I have ever been—an "I"-type journalist; but this is a piece which has to begin with "I" and continue punishing that particular key of my typewriter. A menagerie of officials whose salaries I help to pay has been spending tens of thousands of your and my dollars trying to make as if my life were mysterious and important.

It is neither—but because of all the implications of my "case" for others, the time comes when I must take the floor. Why I have not taken it before, at the various "hearings" to which I have been submitted, I will try to explain presently.

I am not important; but what the menagerie manages to make stick on the record about me, and what happens to me as a result—these are important, and not because I say so or want them to be, to a lot of people in this beautiful and bedeviled land.

I am not mysterious. There is absolutely nothing up my sleeve. To McCarthy, Velde and the Immigration Service I suppose I appear as a sort of sphinx, a male Garbo with "I decline to answer" substituted for "I tank I go home." Actually I tend to be overgarrulous when roused (and they certainly did rouse me) and to put my foot in it with rash and ill-considered statements.

THE GOLDFISH BOWL: The surprising thing is that, while the period of my political awareness (since about 1934) has been one of bewildering changes, I have not seriously put my foot in it as far as my publicly-expressed political position is concerned. I have published six books and scores of articles and edited over 300 issues of the GUARDIAN in those 20 years; I have given my developing ideas, such as they were, free expression; but in all this mass of words I look back on many things that were not very bright, but nothing of which I am downright ashamed.

In any event, I have lived politically in a goldfish bowl, and the attempt to make a mystery out of what I believe and advocate, and what I have done with my life, is merely ridiculous. How I came to my faith in socialism as the goal for every country today is on record, as the development of my love for America despite its faults is on record, and as my warm friendliness for the Soviet Union and all countries charting the socialist road—despite their faults—is on record.

So there is really nothing to argue about—except that the menagerie insists I have all sorts of cumbersome objects up my sleeve which make me such a menace I must be sent back where I came from in 1926.

THE "CHARGES": First it seemed that I was "charged" with being a member of an unpopular organization known as the Communist Party, credited by J. Edgar Hoover with 25,000 members out of a 150 million population, which "everyone knows" works for violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Well, to begin with "everyone" does not know any such thing. I have been around quite a bit and I don't know it. Perhaps it is simple of me, but the notion of this or any other group of 25,000 highly unpopular people overthrowing the most powerful government in the world and in all history does not make much sense—especially now, with most of their leaders in or on the way to jail.

Second, it seemed that I was "charged" with trying to "Communize" the German press in 1945, when I recommended two or three frankly-designated Communist types—and dozens of Social Democrats, Catholics and mild conservatives—for editorial licences under my Army orders to find anti-Nazi journalists.

Third, it seemed that I was "charged" with being a Russian spy or "courier" by a lady I never knowingly set eyes on called Elizabeth Bentley.

THE PASTEBOARD: Just for the record, I wrote as follows in the British Liberal daily **News Chronicle** (5/15/53) after my session with Velde where I declined to discuss these matters:

> "The correct answers would have been: (1) I am not, but have a perfect right to be if I choose; (2) I worked in Germany under precise directives from Gen. Eisenhower, whose lower U.S. brass gave all the orders; (3) A federal grand jury questioned me for two days, six years ago (as Velde must have known, but did not mention) on these same Bentley statements; I answered every question put to me, and that was that."

On the second of these "charges" which are not really charges—for I have never been indicted for anything at all through proper legal machinery, as I would have been if anyone believed they could be proven—the record is in my book **Seeds of Destruction.** On the first, more later. But when it came to my deportation "hearing," all the bric-a-brac I was supposed to have up my sleeve vanished after the first day; my alleged subversive impedimenta had whittled down to a small piece of pasteboard—a Communist Party membership card for 1937-38, issued in Los Angeles to one George Oakden. Two months and 630 pages of testimony later, the Immigration Service's Aaron Maltin gave birth to a 15-page document in which he said he was satisfied that this George was your humble servant. He added, rather coyly I thought, that there was a "presumption of continuance" of the CP membership of Cedric Belfrage, alias George Oakden, just as there would be a presumption of the continuance of an "adulterous relationship."

THAT'S FREEDOM: The first reaction to this is that one wonders how the U.S. government in its might and majesty can solemnly go through such a procedure and not expect to be the laughing-stock of the world. Yet this is your Walter-McCarran Act; pinch yourself, it is true; you live in a "free" country whose law—contrary, of course, to the Constitution, but that is of no matter to our legislators—requires that anyone born abroad who is "proven" to have belonged to a certain party 17 years ago must be kicked out. The government (that's you and me) pays Maltin to do the kicking-out; you can't blame him, he is just doing his duty.

Now we do not agree with Maltin that this ludicrous "charge" has been proven. We will fight against his decision with everything we have. If we are lucky, we may get the matter into a court of law where it will be weighed by judges not on the payroll of one side. The decision leans heavily on "presumptions" drawn from my failure to take the stand and testify about the Los Angeles period of my life—the only period on which evidence was offered.

Here let me say only this as to why I did not testify: the evidence Maltin deems most conclusive is that of an ex-baby-sitter named Skattebol to the effect that in 1937 or 1938, within three weeks of first knowing him, I told Skattebol in the hearing of nobody else that I was a Communist and urged him to join the party. How could I—how could anyone—"prove" the obvious falsity of such a story? It would be my word against his; he is a government witness; and I am a mere "alien Red" with a "self-serving motivation" for my story, while he is a "loyal American" motivated by pure defense of his motherland against those who would destroy it.

THE STORM: Yet what are the facts about my record during those years? In the terms of reference of the Walter-McCarran Act implementers who by definition must not be interested in the truth, they are really much "worse" than the case made against me by the Immigration Service inquisitors.

The period in question was the period of the consolidation of Nazism and the violent overthrow of democracy by Franco in Spain. The ghastly smell of world war was in the air; anyone who used the eyes of reason could see the blueprints emerging for Munich and for Lidice, Warsaw, Coventry, Pearl Harbor, Oradour and Auschwitz.

I had quit newspaper work and settled down in a house in the Hollywood hills to raise a family and write books. But far from the center of the gathering storm as it was, the cosmopolitan Hollywood community was one of those in which consciousness of the danger was most acute.

THE FIRE-FIGHTERS: Driven by the simple but powerful turbines of conscience and social responsibility, hundreds of people from lavishly-paid writers, actors and directors to just plain neighbors became politically active. In such groups as the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League and the Committee for Spain they worked together to aid democracy's defense abroad, and in America to draw attention to the inroads being made by fascism and support the New Deal's measures to extend democracy. In these efforts I was then, and remain now, proud to be associated with good Americans of a dozen political, philosophical and religious shadings from Frank Scully and other Catholic Democrats through the assortment of Upton Sinclair "Epic" socialists to such movie colonists as Lester Cole, Dalton Trumbo, Ring Lardner Jr., John Howard Lawson and Herbert Biberman. Many of them were my close family friends.

These latter are the men who were years later to be sent to jail, when the Hollywood Ten invoked the First Amendment in declining to discuss their politics before an unconstitutional inquisition. They defended the Constitution, which the U.S. Supreme Court betrayed in rebuffing their appeal. The nation was told that they had been involved in some kind of "conspiracy" in trying to turn their country and the world back from the road to a 40-million-casualty war.

CREDITS: Obviously I and many others who worked with them in the Thirties might have found ourselves facing their ordeal. The "conspiracy" to save democracy and peace was broad, and obviously it included Communists; equally obviously, the political affiliation of any "conspirator" against war and fascism was of no consequence whatever if he gave something to the common struggle.

I can only add that, if indeed it was Communists who gave the main leadership in that struggle, so much the more credit to them. And that had I been called upon to face the ordeal of the Hollywood Ten, I hope I would have stood up as courageously as nine of them did for our battered Constitution.

NEXT WEEK: Why silence before the inquisitors?

WHEN THEIR FAMILIES SAID GOODBYE TO THE HOLLYWOOD TEN

This was the night in June, 1950, when the Hollywood Ten left for prison. L. to r.: Lester Cole, Mrs. Helen Bessie, Alvah Bessie, Dalton Trumbo, Albert Maltz, Nicola Trumbo, Mrs. Cleo Trumbo, Christopher Trumbo, Mrs. Ring Lardner Jr., Ring Lardner Jr.

The grand delusion

We now know the character of the political extremists who glorify McCarthy. But do we know our own characters sufficiently to sense that the equating of anti-communism with a faith in democracy is a grand delusion still affecting much of our society?

—York Gazette & Daily, Dec. 9.

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Only one buck for honest news. Give a Guardian gift sub today. $1 for 26 weeks. See p. 2.

BIG BUSINESS IN THE SADDLE

Du Pont ruling: All-clear signal for the giants

BIG BUSINESS is going to get bigger; coming true now is a warning prediction made by the Senate Small Business Commiittee in July, 1951, that continuing concentration will "undermine our economy . . . and entrench monopoly beyond the hope of dislodgement in our time."

Three times in U.S. history waves of mergers have swept the country, each one leaving big corporations bigger and wiping out countless smaller companies. The first occurred from 1887 to 1904, the original trust-forming era; the next came in the Twenties and continued up to the 1929 crash; the third began toward the end of World War II, was accelerated mightily during the war in Korea, and is still continuing. Present anti-trust laws, already inadequate to stem this tide, are being re-interpreted and weakened by the Eisenhower Administration.

SELECTED LIONS: The Senate Small Business Committee found in 1951 that "a select few manufacturers have been receiving the lion's share of defense contracts since Korea"; to ten giant corporations, it reported, went 40% of the total volume of such contracts, and 50 large companies had two-thirds of the total dollar volume. The committee warned that such concentration "inevitably leads toward monopoly, whereby a few producing units grow larger while small concerns are starved out." In 49 major industries, four corporations or fewer now have 75% of the total industry volume.

T. K. Quinn, a former vice-president of General Electric, recently reported:

> "Today, we have 68 private, billionaire corporations in the country, each of them with tens to hundreds of thousands of dependent employes. More than half of all workers in the country are employed by less than 1% of the corporations, which control over 50% of the total corporate wealth. . . . Their control extends directly over production, tens of thousands of smaller supplying manufacturers and sub-contractors, and hundreds of thousands of distributors and dealers, who are left with the so-called freedom either to change to some other branded domination or go out of business.
>
> "Indirectly, the control of the giants influences legislation through paid lobbies in the state capitols and in Washington, and it is seen and felt in the magazines, newspapers, radio and television stations—all dependent upon the giants and their associates for their existence. 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.'"

WELL, LOOK WHO'S IN THE MIDDLE!
The late Pierre du Pont (l.) and Irenee du Pont (r.) flanking their lawyer John M. Harlan, who has since become the President's choice for the Supreme Court to replace the late Justice Jackson.

INNOCENT DU PONTS: Since Eisenhower took office, four big anti-trust actions have been demolished by the courts, including one accusing 17 huge investment banking houses of conspiracy to monopolize the securities business. Latest to be dismissed was the biggest of all time and involved E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., General Motors and the U.S. Rubber Co. The case was instituted under President Truman and charged that the du Pont Co., through ownership of 23% of GM's stock, and the du Pont family, through ownership of 18% of U.S. Rubber stock, forced the latter two companies to buy its products and forced GM to buy U.S. Rubber products.

The case lasted five years, including one full year of actual trial without a jury before Federal Judge Walter J. LaBuy. There were a total of 49 witnesses; records in the case consisted of 13 volumes of printed transcript, 18 lengthy briefs and 14 volumes of exhibits. It took the judge a year to study the evidence and to write his 220-page decision. His finding:

> "The government has failed to prove conspiracy, monopolization, a restraint of trade nor any reasonable probability of a restraint."

TRADE FLOWS FREE: Although it was admitted that du Pont interests at times voted 51% of GM stock, the judge ruled that "the record shows consultation and conference, but not domination." It was admitted that since 1931 GM has bought more than 50% of its tires and tubes from U.S. Rubber, but the judge held that its decision was based on "its own good business reasons—and for no other reason." On the conspiracy charge he ruled:

> "The record discloses a number of instances in which various of the defendants have engaged in concerted action of one kind or another [but] the court finds that none of the actions taken in concert had as their objective or necessary consequence the imposition of any limitation upon the free flow of trade and commerce."

Du Pont, which got its start in 1802 as a manufacturer of gunpowder, made its first huge fortune selling explosives in World War I. Shortly after the war it invested $49,000,000 in GM stock; the holdings now are worth more than $1,800,000,000. Government attorneys estimated at one point during the trial that the book value of the stock holdings of all the individual defendants totalled $6,000,000,000. The du Pont Co. itself owns 76 plants in 26 states and is now officially certified as a non-monopoly. The government is not expected to appeal LaBuy's decision.

WHO'S "BIG & BAD?" John M. Harlan, chief counsel for the du Ponts through most of the proceedings, has now been appointed to the Supreme Court by President Eisenhower; it is his law firm that ex-Gov. Tom Dewey of New York is joining as a senior partner. Of the 33 lawyers for the defense, several are leading members of the Washington firm headed by former Secy. of State Dean Acheson; others belong to the Chicago law firm with which Adlai Stevenson was associated for many years.

Net effect of the du Pont ruling is to make clear that the Eisenhower government will never institute any such proceedings as this one. To the **Wall St. Journal** the case was a "useless act of persecution" but if the decision stands it "will have effectively answered the philosophy of former administrations that anything that's big has got to be bad."

But anti-trust laws are not entirely dead; reports persist that Atty. Gen. Brownell's 60-man commitee to study them will come up with a recommendation that they be applied to trade unions. On Dec. 10 Clem D. Johnston, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, demanded Congressional action to outlaw what he called union monopolies by making labor subject to anti-trust prosecution. Meanwhile big business gets bigger and bigger with vanishing government restraints.

HOW UN-AMERICAN CAN YOUR TONSILS GET?

The attack on the doctors in Los Angeles

ON DEC. 6 the California State Un-American Activities Committee, headed by Sen. Hugh Burns of Fresno, set up shop in Los Angeles to "investigate communist infiltration into the medical profession."

Among the facts brought out during a week of hearings was (Los Angeles **Times**, 12/8) that the probe had been instigated by the "Cadillac Clique" leadership of the L.A. County Medical Assn. (LACMA), headed by Drs. Philip Sampson and J. M. de los Reyes, friend of ex-Sen. Jack B. Tenney, Sen. Burns' predecessor as California's chief witch-hunter.

"Friendly" testimony divulged that these leaders had two purposes: (1) to de-license any doctor who opposes the "Cadillac Clique" program; an opposition slate some time back polled 20% of the vote against the hierarchy; (2) to destroy the only consumer-controlled, low-cost, inter-racial health center in California, the Community Medical Center, 1236 S. Lake St., Los Angeles. The result could have national implications and affect even such groups as the Health Insurance Plan (HIP) and Permanente, largest group health plan in the West.

EIGHT YEARS OLD: The Community Medical Center was established in 1946 through the sponsorship of the Community Medical Foundation, now headed by Dr. Stephen H. Fritchman, pastor of the L.A. First Unitarian Church.

It is managed by Dr. Irwin Cole as a non-profit group practice with its own x-ray and laboratory facilities, providing high quality medical care for working people. Under Dr. Fritchman's leadership, the Foundation and Center are tackling some of the root-problems of medical care. Why the Center has aroused the enmity of the Medical Assn. was explained this way to the GUARDIAN by Dr. Cole:

> "There are two reasons other than minority discriminaton why good medical care is unavailable to millions of Americans. One is geography and the other is lack of money. We in the Center believe that by setting this example we will encourage others to establish centers such as ours.
>
> "The more that complex machine, the human body, becomes understood and known, the more medical science outgrows solo private practice. Once it becomes apparent that a lifetime of study and research can be given to just one part of the body, then common sense dictates that doctors team up into groups in behalf of the patient.
>
> "Yet AMA leaders who would not dream of taking a Cadillac to six or seven garages, incurring six or seven bills in the 'diagnosis' and 'cure' of one of its ills, insist that human beings do just that when it comes to ills of the human body!
>
> "While they favor group 'practice' for their Cadillacs, they have declared undying warfare on group practice for the human machine. Is it because they fear group practice would mean fewer Cadillacs and fewer swimming pools for them?"

A JOE IN THE ACT: Reports of the hearings showed a familiar pattern. Of some 60 witnesses summoned, ten were "friendly," including LACMA wheelhorses. One styled himself "the McCarthy of the medical profession." Others subpenaed, including many of the 25 doctors participating in the Fritchman medical group, were listed as "unfriendly."

Burns Committee counsel Combs read into the record the names of 16 doctors, including three dismissed from Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in 1952, who had refused to testify before previous witch-hunting committees. The president and vice-president of LACMA testified to attending "subversive" meetings which called upon Community Chest officials to withhold funds from hospitals practicing racial discrimination.

A statement signed by Dr. Fritchman, Dr. Cole and Ken Hartford, exec. director of the Community Medical Foundation, called it "deplorable" that taxpayers' money should be spent seeking "sinister" purposes among those striving to alleviate community medical needs. It suggested investigation of the

> ". . . would-be medical monopoly which opposes any organization or health and welfare plans consistent with the needs of today."

IS JIM CROW LOYAL? Hartford as a witness accused the Committee of

> ". . . lending itself to a self-seeking endeavor by those leaders [of the LACMA] to establish a lucrative medical business monopoly over the alleviation of pain and suffering due to illness."

The S. Calif. Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, mentioned by "unfriendly" witnesses as a sponsor of moves against discrimination in hospital services, replied that "according to the perverted logic of the Senate Committee, it is 'disloyal' to fight discrimination."

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Investigate the investigators

Dozens of other statements were showered on the Committee including one signed by 15 residents of Altadena, Pasadena and La Canada, attacking the Burns Committee's motives and challenging any attempt to impose political tests on doctors.

The Community Medical Foundation and Center urged letters to L.A. newspapers, to State Sen.-elect Richard Richards, victor in Tenney's old district; to Sen. Burns and to Dr. Philip Sampson, LACMA president.

NEW RECORD

The songs of new China

A MOST UNUSUAL new recording has come our way. It is a collection of eight songs recorded in China and published here in an LP recording (Folkway Records, No. FP 802, 117 W. 46th St., N.Y.C. $4.75).

The songs are derived from folk melodies, some of them centuries old. They have been popularized throughout China in the last few years by instrumental groups and dancing and singing troupes, many of them performing over the radio. The record gives one a sense of the vastness of this land, from the rugged north down through the almost tropical south. Some of the music is quite strange—but beautiful—to the Western hearer; some has a familiar melody which seems occidental in origin.

Most of all there come through the qualities of gentleness and strength and outgoing excitement of the Chinese people. Even in the songs of the past there is hope for better times that seems a prophecy of the present fulfillment.

There is a North Shensi folk song and an instrumental piece played by the Orchestra of the Peking Art and Drama Academy; a Sinkiang drum dance and a lovely duet called "Flowers on a Hillside."

The recording is of good quality and comes in a charming album with a simulated blue-and-gold brocade cover. A descriptive folder in English by Julian Schuman is included. J. A.

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by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

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Ray Lev, Nadine Brewer at Town Hall Dec. 28

Ray Lev, pianist, and Nadine Brewer, soprano, will be the soloists in an evening of Lieder, spirituals and folk songs and instrumental music on Tuesday evening, Dec. 28, at Town Hall, for the benefit of the Metropolitan Music School Scholarship Fund. Performing with Miss Lev will be Leon Temerson, violinist, and Stanley Drucker, clarinetist. Carroll Hollister, pianist, will accompany Miss Brewer.

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YOUR RIGHTS GO ON TRIAL . . .

January 10, 1955

IN THE CASE OF

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

THE trial of Claude Lightfoot is a test case.

For the first time in our history, a man is facing up to 10 years in prison for the "crime" of being a member of a party which has had thirty-five years of legal existence. This will be the first test of the "membership" clause of the Smith Act.

JAIL FOR POLITICAL BELIEFS

The Smith Act cases in 1949 set the precedent for jailing men and women, not for overt acts, but for their political beliefs. The formal charges were "conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence." But Justice Douglas exposed this fiction when he stated the unchallenged fact that "we deal here with speech alone, not speech plus acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct. Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment."

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

Today, the Lightfoot case extends the process one giant step farther. Not even the pretense of "conspiracy" is charged, just "membership." Here, full-blown, is the vicious McCarthyite doctrine of "guilt by association." Not as the irresponsible smear of some demagogue, but by Federal indictment, backed by the power of the Department of Justice.

The conviction of Claude Lightfoot could set the stage for concentration camps for tens of thousands. How many people have already been fingered before some Committee or other by the professional stool-pigeon circuit?

DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Only an aroused public opinion can beat back this assault on the Bill of Rights. But to break through the curtain of silence maintained by the press and radio, the help of every conscious progressive is needed.

Time is short. The trial opens January 10th in the Federal District Court in Chicago. The prosecution intends a swift, quiet trial. To reach the public with the issues, to provide the best possible legal defense, we need YOUR help, and we need YOUR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION. A minimum of $40,000 must be raised, and quickly.

Contribute now to the Lightfoot Defense Fund. The rights you save may be your own!

For the full story of the case, write for the 20-page pamphlet, "The Case of Claude Lightfoot." (10c per copy; $3.00 for 50).

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NEW YORK

East Harlem's people comment on Police Operation 25

By Eugene Gordon

NEW YORK'S 25th Precinct has a population of nearly 120,000—larger than Columbia, S. C., Dearborn, Mich., Lexington, Ky., or Montgomery, Ala. —jammed into approximately one square mile between 5th Av. and the East River, from 110th St. to the Harlem River at 142nd St. Police call it a "high crime" area.

On Sept. 1 Police Commissioner Francis W. H. Adams, contending that crime can be reduced only by adding more policemen, moved 250 newly graduated rookies into the 25th. The rookies, specially trained "on the problem of East Harlem and its dense population and varied national groups" (N. Y. **Times**, 9/2), boosted the precinct's police strength from 220 to 670, counting detectives and plainclothesmen.

A BALKAN CHRISTMAS
A Bucharest version of Santa Claus from an exhibition of Rumanian photography showing till Jan. 15, at Art of Today Gallery, Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St.

THE BUDGET: City-wide, Adams had 19,859 policemen, wanted 7,000 more. Saturating East Harlem was to be a demonstration looking to a budget boost. (From that point of view Operation 25 was a success. Adams got 750 more cops and the promise of still more later.)

Adams asked the press to withhold comment of his scheme until it had run its 4-month course at the end of December. But he jumped his own gun by a month. He reported on Nov. 28—with an eye on the new budget in the making—that "our whole experiment met with the most cordial and helpful reception at the hands of the people of the area," and had halved the rate of crime. Harlem's **Amsterdam News** disagreed. "The zealous attitude of many of the rookie cops," it said (12/4), "made them nuisances in the community."

"Prior to the influx of policemen," the paper said, "a sampling of opinion revealed that night prowlers were feared and disliked more than any other group. In many instances, after the additional men arrived, these dislikes and fears were shifted to the police. A good many people, aware of the dangers of police brutality and instances of shakedowns by cops, now remain at home after dark. This might account for the area's being 'one of the quietest in the city.'"

THEY GOT TOUGH: The **Amsterdam News** didn't believe, for example, that 132 arrests for disorderly conduct during "Operation 25"—compared to 58 during the same period last year—indicated "order in the community." There were complaints that police had "dispersed 'orderly' gatherings, searched 'innocent people' and infuriated a great many by their get-tough attitude."

The 32 arrests for liquor violations emphasized earlier police laxity: "The presence of top brass brought about" a cleanup which should have been done before.

The newspaper said that saturating an area with cops could not reduce crime: criminals just move to a place not yet saturated. Adams' answer was that the whole city must be given the E. Harlem saturation cure.

Last week the GUARDIAN asked some East Harlem educators if there had been a cure. This is what it found out:

DEEP-SEATED ILLS: Mrs. Margaret Smith Douglas of the Fred R. Moore (P. S. 133) School, 5th Av. and 130th St., the city's only Negro principal, said the city as a whole needed "increased police," but she resented "the constant highlighting of Harlem in connection with deplorable conditions." Nor did she like the insinuation that "our Puerto Rican citizens" are a criminal element in police references to East Harlem.

Mrs. Douglas said: "In concentrating the police in any area we are relieving the patient's pain without seeking the cause of the illness. . . . This illness in our society—this high incidence of crime—has deep-seated causes, the names of which are trite but which we must keep on hearing until we do something about them." She listed them as "housing, overcrowded schools, unequal employment opportunities and inadequate health facilities."

WORKING MOTHERS: The pastor of a Catholic church regretted that mothers who ought to be at home had, instead, to be at work. The result, he said, was that children "are left on their own, or are neglected."

Mrs. Marjorie Doswell, chairman of the PTA curriculum committee for P. S. 133, named housing first among reasons why that area is saturated with policemen now. Police action, she insisted, "is punitive; it doesn't educate, and the undesirables only go elsewhere."

3 MAIN REASONS: "Inadequate housing facilities" was named first by P. S. 24 Principal Lewis L. Berlin, 22 E. 128th St., among the three main causes of crime-sickness in East Harlem. The others were "inadequate economic income" and "lack of education." "Minor domestic frictions" arising from "constantly rubbing elbows" and "stepping on each other's toes are reflected in the responses of the children," he said.

Growing boys and girls should have separate rooms, he said. "In some Harlem homes they are forced to sleep with parents because there is inadequate sleeping space for all in the crowed home." Inadequate plumbing facilities, poor lighting and heating "contribute to poor health," he declared. "It in turn, motivates much unconscious anti-social behavior," while close-together tenements "do not provide for adequate recreational centers."

THE CHILDREN: Dr. Berlin concluded:

"Frequently the hours of employment for either or both parents are such that the children are on their own before and after school.

"If surrounded by the sordidness and unpleasantness of life, what can we expect in the line of social betterment? Negro parents deprived, through no fault of their own, of their right to education as citizens of the United States, are handicaped in teaching their children. The school does not always supply that lack."

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The New Year

The miracle is now. The place is here.
No angel's wings. No throne. No diadem.
Yet, in this hour locked and rocked with fear,
A birth may re-establish Bethlehem.

No kings surround the cradle. Crowds roar by.
The shepherds have been missing since the war.
Yet darkness splinters as a wintry sky
Unfolds and holds — again — a burning star.

This is the time for wonders. The world cries
For revelation, for another birth.
Dry sticks burst into blossom; dead bones rise;
And wise men whisper to a desperate earth.

A child may lead and save us still, for still
The Magi come with gifts that never cease:
The myrrh of hope; the gold of all good will;
The fresh and precious frankincense of peace.

Welcome the unknown saviors of our time.
Welcome the thorns on every martyr's brow.
Welcome the cross. Welcome the long, slow climb.
The place is here. The miracle is now.

—Louis Untermyer
(From *What's New*)

WHERE STAIRWELLS ARE CHIMNEYS

Tenants caught between firetraps and evictions

LAST January six Harlem residents were burned to death and fire companies in the area answered 808 alarms. This January threatens to be worse. Each winter carries the menace of sudden fire swirling up tenement stairwells that become chimneys and make the survival odds slim above the second floor.

Already Harlem fires have taken a heavy toll this winter: four dead in November, three in the first half of Deecmber. Other tenement areas show the same rise in alarms.

THE HOMELESS: Even where there are no fatalities there is homelessness and desperation, as in the five-alarm blaze that drove 27 families from the tenement at 2897-99 Eighth Av. on Saturday night, Dec. 18. Ted Poston of the N. Y. **Post** found some of those burned-out tenants searching for belongings in the ashes of their house. Mrs. Jennie Washington, 66, who had lived there with her 70-year-old sister, told Poston: "All our clothing and belongings were washed away. A lady gave me this old coat to wear. We went to the Welfare Center, but they didn't help us out with clothing or anything. They said we should keep on looking for a place to live."

SPRINKLERS AND PINCERS: With the fire threat growing worse and amid charges that fatalities were due to an undermanned Fire Dept., Fire Commissioner Edward F. Cavanagh moved to take the responsibility off his department. He found 13 landlords of firetraps where the water sprinkler system was mainly ornamental. The law requires sprinklers in multiple dwellings without special fire escapes. These landlords and probably many more had installed sprinkler systems but either failed to connect them with the water main or allowed them to fall into disrepair.

On Friday, Dec. 17, Cavanagh gave the landlords the weekend to put their sprinklers into usable shape. He set 6 p.m. Monday, Dec. 20, as the deadline when he would evict all tenants. The tenants were caught in a familiar pincers: between the firetrap and eviction.

"HOUSING IS BASIC": When the deadline came, ten of the landlords had complied. Cavanagh said he would have to give the three remaining landlords a few days' grace because the Welfare Dept. could take care of only one building's tenants at a time. Cavanagh said he was pleased with the results. Rent was reduced to $1 a month in three firetraps pending sprinkler repairs.

In the City Council Philip Schupler (D.) offered a bill requiring fire alarms in every apartment. But Edward S. Lewis, head of the Urban League of Greater N. Y., went to the heart of the matter: "Inspection is necessary but housing is basic."

Philanthropist Jacob A. Riis said it better years ago: "Why should a man have a better right to kill his neighbors with a house than with an axe?"

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ONWARD AND UPWARD WITH DeSAPIO

The Chief is off to Albany to peddle the ripe plums

By Elmer Bendiner

TALL, natty Carmine Gerard DeSapio is trying to look like a statesman and make Tammany Hall look like an academy of political science. Earlier Tammany chieftains desired no more dignity than what came naturally to their jobs as drivers of the most powerful big-city machine in the country.

DeSapio has taken on titles where most others were content with power. He is not only leader of Tammany Hall but chairman of the N. Y. County Committee of the Democratic Party, N. Y. State Committeeman on his party's National Committee. Last week he dropped his job on the N. Y. C. Board of Elections to become N. Y. Secy. of State when Averell Harriman becomes Governor.

CARMINE DeSAPIO
Chiefie goes respectable

"ALL SORTS OF THINGS": But his wife still calls him "chiefie," and the party "regulars" who fill his apartment at 37 Washington Sq. West in the early morning hours clamor for favors or map the strategies of a machine that is still based on the century-old hook - or - crook vote - getting, favor - dispensing Tammany technique. In a Tammany chief's handbook political principles have no place. After the recent election DeSapio told Cynthia Lowery of the Washington **Post**:

"All sorts of things cause people to belong to one political party. You can inherit it. Or you can want to be different from your family. Some people belong to a political party because it's good for their business. And you'll always have a lot of people who find it advantageous to be a part of the party that is in, not out."

In that interview (12/3) he forecast his appointment as Secy. of State: "Maybe I will get out of the Board of Elections and take a private job. Perhaps there is something in Harriman's cabinet."

A DISH OF PLUMS: The new post means a raise for "the Chief" since of his previous jobs only one—member of the Board of Elections—paid a salary: $12,000. As Secy. of State he will draw $17,000 in salary, $3,000 in expenses and extras.

It will also make his position at Averell Harriman's elbow less embarrassing, give him a chance to circulate upstate unobtrusively. The N. Y. **Times** (12/5) reported it would mean "a recognition of the respectability of Tammany Hall." Republicans expressed fears that Tammany might throw the job itself into disrepute, but under GOP or Democratic rule the state office has always been a patronage dish filled with plums. Dewey's last Secy. of State was GOP boss Thomas J. Curran, a frankly political appointee. "Boss" Edward J. Flynn also held the job from 1929-1939.

Secy. of State DeSapio will automatically become custodian of the Great Seal, chairman of the Cemetery Board and chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the Land Office. Though imposing in title these jobs will mean less to "the Chief" than the licensing powers which he can dispense with an eye to returning favors. He has the job of licensing a wide variety of people from cosmetologists and railroad policemen to steamship agents, billiard rooms and real estate brokers. Even more significant politically are the boxing, wrestling and racing commissions in his department. These divisions of the State Dept. provided the juiciest plums and scandals of the Dewey administration.

A BRIGHT FUTURE: DeSapio's record indicates he will make the most of his new powers. He entered politics as a Tammany rebel, unseating Daniel Finn Jr. as leader of the 1st A. D. West in 1939. He fought a shrewd, uphill battle, bearing an Italian name in an organization where the top posts had been held by Irish names for almost 100 years. He played traditional Tammany politics, despite his insurgency; before the Kefauver Crime Commission, rackets kingpin Frank Costello testified to his friendly association with DeSapio.

In 1949 when Mayor O'Dwyer ousted Hugo Rogers from Tammany leadership, DeSapio took over. He secured his position by giving a series of victories to a machine that was starved for them. He backed Wagner over Impellitteri and won, then picked Harriman over Roosevelt Jr., and scored double when Harriman won and Roosevelt became the only top state Democrat to lose.

The N. Y. **Times** (12/19) said that when DeSapio took over Tammany's leadership it was "split, decrepit and accused of widespread corruption." It is now neither split nor decrepit.

46,886 TOTAL

It's official: ALP off ballot

ACCORDING to official returns announced last week by the N. Y. State Board of Canvassers, John T. McManus and Karen Morley, American Labor Party candidates for governor and lt. governor in last November's election, polled 46,886 votes. N. Y. City gave them 39,768; upstate, 7,118. Strongest showing out of the city was in Nassau County, 1,825.

Averell Harriman won by 11,125, the slimmest margin since 1850 when a Whig defeated a Democrat by 262 votes. The final tally: Harriman, 2,560,738 (264,093 on the Liberal line); Ives, 2,549,613.

Socialist Worker candidates David L. Weiss and Dorothy Haines polled 2,617. The Industrial Government Party's Nathan Karp and Stephen Emery drew 1,720. Total vote: 5,241,177. Blank, void and scattered ballots: 79,603.

EXCITING NEW PLAY

Guardian Theater night at 'The Troublemakers' Jan. 27

THE GUARDIAN is having a theater party Jan. 27 for an exciting play about American life which was a smash hit in London and in Tel Aviv. The play is **The Troublemakers**, by George Bellak. It is being produced by Elliott Sullivan and directed by the brilliant young director Michael Howard at the President Theater, 48th St., west of Broadway.

This is what the London press said of the play:

THE TIMES: "This play of undergraduate violence in an American university has tremendous dramatic drive and a cutting political edge."

DAILY EXPRESS: "A drama with the impact of a blow between the eyes."

THE STAR: "Few plays have been so heartily cheered as **The Troublemakers**."

In Israel the play, which is based on an actual incident, has been put in the permanent repertory of the Chamber Theater in Tel Aviv and has been revived several times.

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SUB-WAY ROUTE

How Bronx club uses Guardian

THE American Labor Party club in the Third A. D., Bronx, has taken the "subway" route to political action. The club has ordered 50 short-term subscriptions to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for enrolled ALP members in the district.

As the ALP'ers begin receiving their GUARDIANS, they will also get a letter from the club explaining the "sub-way" operation. Later the new subscribers will be called to a meeting (perhaps to be addressed by a GUARDIAN staff member) at which both ALP club work and the GUARDIAN will be discussed.

After that the club will go after the entire ALP enrollment in the district (some 600), using the GUARDIAN as the spark for club activity.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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CLUB CINEMA celebrates the season with a Christmas pantomime, Dec. 24-26, a variety program including "THE CHRISTMAS MIRACLE," some rare footage shot by George Melies in 1910; "CHRISTMAS SLIPPER," a gay film version of Tchaikovsky's opera, "Cherevichki," and the delightful Czech puppet cartoon in color, "SONG OF THE PRAIRIE." Showings: 8:30 and 10:00 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: "Masquerade in Vienna."

A BANQUET honoring HUGO GELLERT's 40th Anniversary as a people's artist, Sun., Jan. 16, 3 p.m., Hungarian House, 2141 Southern Blvd., Bronx. Fine Hungarian Dinner, $3.50 per person. Chairman: Howard Fast. Main Speaker: PAUL ROBESON. Reservations: Committee, 130 E. 16th St.

CHILDREN'S HOOTENANNY., Sun., Dec. 26, 2:30 p.m. Songs and Dances of Cuba, Africa, Puerto Rico. Al Hylton, magician; Latin America Trio, Betty Sanders, Al Wood, Yugo-Slav Hall, 405 W. 41st st. Adm: $1.

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HARRIMAN'S NOT-SO-HAPPY NEW YEAR

New Governor gets a handful of hot potatoes from the GOP

THE speeches will be short and there will be no grand ball when Averell Harriman becomes New York's 50th governor. Only a few close friends and the Harriman family circle will be on hand for the swearing-in shortly before midnight New Year's Eve. The new governor will take the oath publicly on New Year's Day before 1,200 invited guests in the Assembly Chamber; he will speak for less than half an hour. The businesslike austerity (except during the war years Dewey inaugurals were sedately festive) fits the problems of the new administration.

Among these are rent control, due to expire in June; the budget (which Harriman promised to trim while expanding services); spotty but growing unemployment, worry over which is widely credited with Harriman's election; the port, for which Harriman has so far offered no solution other Dewey's waterfront commission with its regimentation scheme and a publicity campaign to attract business; relations with New York City.

Up to now it was politically profitable to pass the buck between Albany and City Hall, both sides throwing up their hands in impotence on such problems as fares and taxes. Now the buck will have to pass from the executive mansion to the GOP Legislature.

BUCKS AND BUDGETS: The buck-passing was already under way last week. The **Times** 12/20) reported: "Gov. Dewey and Gov-elect Harriman each laid the groundwork yesterday for holding the other responsible for the next state budget."

Though state services were already painfully inadequate in state aid to schools, hospitals, insane asylums and unemployment benefits, Harriman warned that the budget was "bursting at the seams" and called for "maximum pressure" on department heads to lower requests.

From all sides came signals of retrenchment, which in the past has frustrated demands for pay raises for teachers and other public workers. Unless Harriman can cut some $40 million from the existing budget he will have to propose new taxes.

GOPS ON WHITE HORSES: Taxes were ticklish, with national elections due in 1956 and N.Y. State one of the most doubtful in the Democratic camp. The big real estate owners were the only logical sources of increased revenue, but politician Harriman would thereby antagonize that lobby at a time when they might have to swallow the pill of renewed control.

AVERELL HARRIMAN
It's an ambush

The Republicans in the Legislature seemed pleased that the tough tax decisions before '56 will have to be made by a Democrat. It was the consolation prize of the '54 elections. GOP leaders announced last week they would fight any new taxes except one that Dewey had proposed on gasoline, and that would have to be earmarked for road-building only.

GOP legislators stood ready to pose in '56 as the people's defenders against Democratic taxation and to make similar hay out of any wrong Harriman guesses. Harriman's future political career hinged on his ability to keep the state Democratic for two years.

APPLEBY'S SKELETON: The Republicans promised to toss monkey-wrenches at every turn. Senate Majority Leader Mahony said he would call all Harriman appointees before the Finance Committee and ask each if he believes public officials have the right to belong to the Communist Party.

It was a way of reminding people that Dr. Paul H. Appleby, designated as Harriman's budget director, wrote a memorandum 21 years ago in which he said "a man in the employ of the government has just as much right to be a member of the Communist Party as he has to be a member of the Democratic or Republican Party."

Appleby would not have to appear before the committee because his post is not subject to Senate confirmation; but pending any recantation of that former liberalism, his memorandum could be handy '56 ammunition. He was Undersecy. of Agriculture under Henry Wallace and Asst. Director of the Budget Bureau under Truman, and is thus linked to perennial GOP targets. He is on leave from his post as dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship & Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

FENCE-MENDING: Harriman's other designations were designed to mend fences, particularly out of N.Y. City where bitterness still rankles as a result of the city-boss selection of Harriman over Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.

He has reportedly chosen John W. Johnson of Buffalo as Supt. of Public Works; Daniel Carey of Cortlandt County as commissioner of Agriculture & Markets; Louis H. Wehle, a Rochester brewer, as commissioner of conservation. He has also announced plans to name a woman to a new job in charge of consumer's interests. So far he has named no Negroes to high posts.

Harriman paid his debt to the man most responsible for his election, Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio, by naming him Secy. of State (see p. 10). He appointed as his special assistant in charge of press relations Charles Van Devander, formerly of the N.Y. Post.

He showed no sign of ingratiating himself with labor in any of his appointments to date. That may have been in the back of State CIO pres. Louis Hollander's mind when he served notice on Harriman of labor's demands.

LABOR RUMBLINGS: Speaking at a meeting of shop chairmen of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Hollander urged the Gov.-elect to see that the state unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation systems were revised, the minimum wage boosted to $1.25 an hour. He said ominously: "We are not bound to any political party. We are not interested in patronage. Our sole concern is with program, and we shall not hesitate to attack the Governor if we find him sidetracking the things the people of this state need."

Hollander made it plain, however, that he was not straying from the reservation: "We intend to give our full support to Mr. Harriman as long as he is true to the promises on which he is elected." He discouraged third-party talk recently heard from Transport Workers Union pres. Mike Quill, denouncing such parties as "the brainchildren of a few self-anointed leaders and not a legitimate expression of the desires of the people. I refuse to isolate myself from the masses and join a political ghetto by moving toward a third party now."

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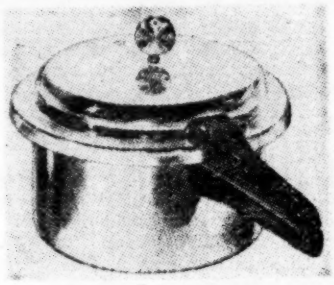

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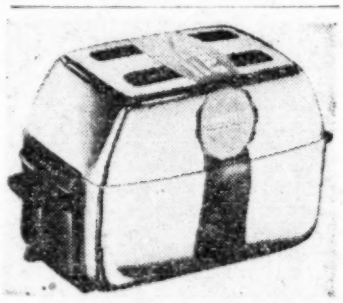

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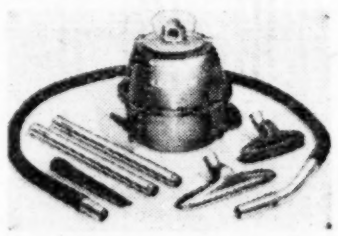

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the SPECTATOR

Of Lunatics and Jugglers

NEW YORK **Times** correspondent A. M. Rosenthal wires a cultural distress message direct from New Delhi. A resounding hit has been scored in India by a touring Chinese theatrical company. A three-hour "expertly designed show," built around the theme of cultural ties between the two nations, has been performed with tumultuous success before huge audiences. Rosenthal cables:

> "The impression made here by the talent and wit of the Chinese artists makes many Americans in town wish that our country would put its best cultural foot forward. There is a strong feeling that artists like Marian Anderson, Jascha Heifetz and Maria Tallchief could do a lot more in one tour than any number of broadcasts and statements. . . . Two American track coaches are in town, but as far as public attention, publicity and appeal to Indian audiences go, the trackmen are not much of a match for Chinese acrobats and dancers who seem to float on air."

The genuine cause for alarm, however, is not the performers, but the content of the entertainment. Singled out as "propaganda" is "The Monkey King," a 1,000-year-old tale of Chinese-Indian relations. In the modernized version the Monkey King represents the working class struggling against nature. Apparently this Idea Piece needs to be combated even more urgently than the "superbly graceful dancers" and "show-stopping jugglers." The challenge calls for meeting fire with flame-throwers. Ain't we got culture too?

Drawing by Dyad, London
"Bet you she undresses; the hero tears up his trade union card; and the honeymoon's in Spain!"

CULTURE AND B. O.: Earlier this month **Variety** featured this headline across the front page: "Has 'Culture' A Money Future?" Subheading read: "'Class' Bait to Swell Mass B. O." (For the uninitiated, B. O. means box office receipts.) The writer concluded: "Suspicion has lingered for a long time . . . that 'culture,' if properly handled, can pay off."

Of course this refers to such highbrow fare as the movie **Hamlet** and **Henry V**, and to the Metropolitan Opera premieres for theater-TV. But these are ancient and, to boot, un-American in origin. They wouldn't give audiences in the Orient the true aroma of Cadillac Square, D. C., or Nedick's-on-the-Roll, N. Y. We would do better to cull recent Broadway openings. For export to India we might select Sidney Kingsley's latest play, **Lunatics and Lovers**, the high point of which is a judge stepping into a lady's bubble bath. Kingsley, who once wrote of doctors' problems in **Men in White** and of tough, underfed kids in **Dead End**, is the proud poppa of what Richard Watts Jr. of the N. Y. **Post** calls, with a grimace, "a rowdy, dynamic sex farce." A dash of **Women's Wear** titivates the incoming buyers, promising that ". . . by comparison the so-called bawdy plays of the Restoration period are examples of virtue, decorum and propriety."

Those who inhale their dramatic reviews over the air got a heady whiff from WCBS' description of the proceedings in **Lunatics and Lovers**; its critic told them: "Sex is kicked around like a basketball."

QUICK, THE WHEELBARROW: A better choice might be Maxwell Anderson's newest hit, his dramatization of the book **The Bad Seed**. Anderson has retreated from themes like the Sacco-Vanzetti frameup into a creepy cave, to midwife a charming example of Our Culture. "The tale it has to tell is chillingly inhuman," comments the **Times'** Brooks Atkinson. Wouldn't the theatergoers of Bombay be edified by an evening with a little girl who murders three people? She inherits the tendency, from her grandmother, you know, but she conceals it. These wily Americans. You never know what they're thinking.

Or maybe we ought to encourage Salvador (half-man, half-moustache) Dali to hurry up with his project. Said Dali recently: "I am about to make a film called 'The Wheelbarrow of Flesh.' It is the true story of a woman who falls in love with a wheelbarrow."

We must act swiftly or India may be swept off its feet by crude propaganda for Eastern Civilization As They Know It, and may reject Western Civilization as they've had it. Or have they had it?

WORKER THEMES

Ring Theatre opens in Jan.

THE RING THEATER, a new group devoted to producing plays with working-class themes, will present its first program in January. It will be done in the round in a hall on 28th St. and 9th Av., in the heart of the longshore area and close by a large low-rent housing project. The location is deliberate: to test the plays against the audiences for whom they are intended.

On the January program are three one-act plays directed by Edward Castro: **The Winner** (anti-McCarthy), **A Run for Their Money** (on the housing shortage) and **The Bargain Hunters** (about a factory girl).

Casting for one play is still in progress; interested actors may call WA 9-7730. Technical people are wanted too, and manuscripts are being read.